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AUTHOR	Venegas, Moises; Kuvlesky, William
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ABSTRACT

Based on comparative data from two 1973 studies, this study examined whether or not the occupational and educational status projections and language usage patterns of Mexican American teenagers living in a large metropolitan area differed from those of teenagers living in isolated, relatively small nonmetropolitan places. The two separate, but similar, studies were conducted in South Texas with nonmetropolitan youth (ST-73) and in El Paso with metropolitan youth (EP-73) using identical questionnaires. The ST-73 study obtained data from 379 Mexican American sophomores in 5 high schools located in Dimmit, Starr, and Zapata Counties. The EP-73 study obtained data from 300 Chicano sophomores and seniors in 12 schools in the El Paso-Ysleta school districts. These studies analyzed the respondent's aspiration and expectation levels, aspiration intensity, expectation certainty, speaking patterns (with parents at home and with close friends in the neighborhood, school, outside of class), and use of mass media. Some findings were: metropolitan Chicano youth had slightly higher educational and occupational aspirations; South Texas girls were the least certain of their occupational expectations; metropolitan boys used Spanish less and English more with parents; and nonmetropolitan males more frequently maintained a strong desire for their educational aspirations. (NQ)

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Do Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Chicano Youth Differ: A Study of South Texas Teen-Agers - 1973*

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Moises Venegas
University of Southern Colorado

William Kuvlesky
Texas A&M University

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Introduction

The purpose of this research is to attempt to test the level of generaliztion of a recent conclusion from our past research on non-metropolitan, south and southwest Texas Mexican American Teenagers: that these youth have precominantly high and strong status aspirations and expectations.

Our earlier findings on the NM Mexican American youth supported Merton's thesis that all types of youth, including Mexican American youth, in American society have high aspirations for upward social mobility (Kuvlesky, Wright, and Juarez, 1971). This brought into question much of the speculative assertions that Mexican American youth suffered impediments to social mobility due to low achievement aspirations derived from the patterns of values and beliefs linked to their minority subculture (Wright, Salinas, and Kuvlesky, 1973; Hernandez, 1970). Obviously, that assertion can be made that our earlier findings about NM Texas Mexican Americans are atypical--an exception to the more general patterns which prevail among Mexican American youth, particularly those residing in large M (metropolitan) areas.

Given the fact that little in the way of comparable past research has been accumulated on aspirations of a variety of Mexican American youth, it is legitimate to question how far you can generalize from one small study of Mexican Americans living in small places along the Mexican border in one state. Only one rather dated study done in the southwest has been repored on M (metropolitan) Mexican American youths'

status aspirations--Heller's analysis based on a Los Angeles study carried out in the late fifties (Heller, 1966). The few other past reports we could locate indicated results that appeared to support our conclusions; although, for one reason or another questions could be raised about comparability between those findings and ours (Kuvlesky, Wright, and Juarez, 1973). Only Heller's (1966) inferences from the much earlier Los Angeles findings appeared to directly challenge our conclusions; however, Heller's findings were based on responses indicating expectations (anticipated attainments) not aspirations (desired attainments), and of course, represent a historical period for the Mexican American much different from that of the late sixties and the present

Past research has generally shown that levels of status aspirations and expectations vary directly with increasing size of community of residence. Likewise past research indicates that generally youth from smaller places tend to be more traditional in their orientations and behavior as compared with youth from larger places. As far as we are aware, evidence does not exist to determine whether or not or to what extent these generaliztions are valid for Mexican American populations. Recent data from two Texas studies carried out jointly by the two authors provide a basis for filling this void.

A few studies have been done on the retention of Spanish by Mexican Americans (Skrabanek, 1970; Patella and Duvlesky, 1973). A report of findings from an earlier - 1967 - Texas study of the nonmetropolitan area studied here (involving the same age grouping) indicated that almost all Mexican American youth can speak Spanish,

that boys consistently use Spanish in speaking more than girls, that the amount of Spanish used varies by social context, and that Spanish radio programs are utilized frequently but not Spanish language mass literature (Patella and Kuvlesky, 1974). Prior analysis of the ST-73 data indicate that these patterns have persisted with little change (Patella and Kuvlesky, 1975). No comparable data on a similarly located metropolitan, Mexican American population has been reported to provide a basis to evaluate the extent to which these findings can be generalized. However, evidence exists to indicatethat Mexican American youth from Los Angleles and Spanish American youth from rural Southern Colorado speak Spanish less than the nonmetropolitan South Texas youth (Kuvlesky, 1973). However, comparability of these studies is hindered by the fact that they were carried out at different times and due to marked variability in instruments and procedures.

As far as we know directly comparable studies of language patterns of metropolitan and nonmetropolitan Mexican American youth--carried out at the same time, using identical instruments, and replicating as exactly as possible instruments and operations--have not been reported. Our tight collaboration in carrying out the El Paso-73 and South Texas-73 studies provided us with the potential for such a comparison. We thus have a capability to determine whether or not metropolitan and nonmetropolitan youth from the "border area" of Texas differ in certain patterns of language use (Kuvlesky and Venegas, 1974).

A set of questions sturctured to elicit indications of frequency

use of Spanish over various informal contexts of social interaction and in use of mass media were included as parts of the questionnaires used in both studies--these are described in Patella and Kuvlesky (1973) and in even more detail in Patella (1971). The data thus obtained were utilized to develop metropolitan-nonmetropolitan comparative analysis by sex in reference to the following:

(1) Spanish Speaking Patterns

(a) With parents in the home.
(b) With close friends in the neighborhood.
(c) With close friends in school, outside of class.

(2) Use of Mass Media

(a) Radio
(b) Newspapers and Magazines

The findings to be reported below provide a very meager, first step toward attempting to answer the question of whether or not metropolitan and nonmetropolitan Mexican American youth differ generally in their language usage patterns.

Our specific research objectives will be to determine whether or not Mexican American teen-age boys and girls living in a large Metropolitan area differ from their counterparts living in isolated, relatively small nonmetropolitan places in reference to the following:

A. Occupational and Educational Status Projections

1. Aspiration level
2. Expectation level
3. Intensity of Aspriation
4. Certainty of Expectation

B. Language Usage Patterns - Use of Spanish Language vs. English Language in Differing Social Contexts.

Conceptual Frame

The conceptual distinctions differentiated above and evaluations of their empirical utility have been specified a number of times in other publications (Kuvlesky and Bealer, 1966; Kuvlesky, Wright and Juarez, 1971; Kuvlesky, 1973; Cosby, et al., 1973). However, a brief overview is provided here. Status projections refer to an individual's cognitive orientations toward future social statuses and are of two dimensions--a status object and an orientation element. Aspirations consist of projections involving a variable amount of desire (orientation) toward a particular position delineated in some status area (status object). Expectations refer to anticipated actual attainments, whether they are desired or not, and vary in degree of certainty of projected attainment. The status object specified for aspiration and expectation in a given status area can vary and this potential variation is labeled anticipatory goal deflection--it is assumed that expectations are modifications of aspirations when they are found to be incongruent.

Data and Methods

The analysis to be reported here is based on comparative data from two separate, but similar, studies of Texas Mexican American youth completed in the past two years: our 1973 study of nonmetropolitan youth in South Texas and a 1973 study of El Paso youth by Venegas

(1973). Each of these studies is described briefly below.

1973 Nonmetropolitan (ST-73)

The process began in 1967 with the selection of four South Texas counties (Dimmit, Maverick, Starr, and Zapata) that exhibited the following characteristics: (1) location in a rural and nonmetropolitan area, (2) a high frequency of family poverty and (3) proportionately high concentration of Mexican Americans (Juarez and Kuvlesky, 1968:6). In 1967 interviews were conducted in seven schools located in these counties. The 1973 effort could not enlist the cooperation of two of these schools, including the only one in Maverick county.

Extensive efforts were made to duplicate the 1967 field procedures in the 1973 study. All high school sophomores present on the day of the study were given questionnaires and immediately assured of the confidentiality of their responses. A trained graduate student read each item aloud giving the students enough time to complete their responses before proceeding. The questionnaires distributed were identical with respect to the variables involved in this analysis. No efforts were made to contact those students not present on the day of the interview. In 1967 about 85 percent of those reported to be enrolled were interviewed and in 1973 the figure was 80 percent.

The interviewed portions of the sophomore class ranged from a low of 22 to a high of 168 in the 1967 effort and from 35 to 181 in 1973. The 1967 data netted 341 Mexican American respondents as compared with 379 for the 1973 effort.

1973 Metropolitan Study (EP-73)

During the spring of 1973, a collaborative study between ERIC-CRESS (New Mexico State University) and the Texas Agricultural Experiement Station was carried out in El Paso under the direction of Moises Venegas (1973). The study included a 5% sample of all sophomores and seniors in 12 of the 13 schools in the El Paso Ysleta school districts. Complete data were collected on 300 Chicano high school students through a series of group-administered schedules.

The stimulus questions used in this study were identical to those used in the South Texas study and care was taken to use compatible interviewing and coding procedures (Venegas, 1973). Even given the expenditure of a lot of effort to assure that the El Paso data would be as exactly comparable as possible to our earlier study in South Texas, there is a factor to consider in interpreting the comparative results--the ST-73 respondents were sophomores, while the EP-73 respondents were made up of both sophomores and seniors.*

Analysis and Findings

Educational Status Projections

Aspirations and Expectations (Tables 1 and 2)

Differences between the ST-73 and EP-73 sample of respondents were found to be statistically significant in reference to both educational aspirations and expectations for females and males. Much of the dif-

*Venegas (1973) reports little difference between sophomores and seniors on status projection elements.

cent of the EP-73 had low aspirations as compared to approximately 20 percent for the ST-73 group. (See Table 1). In the intermediate categories, there was some difference between the female groups, but if the intermediate and high categories were compressed we would find almost an identical percentage (89) of females having moderate to high aspirations. The NM respondents had lower expectations on the average..more were found with low expectations.

It is important to note similarities that exist among the two populations of Chicanos for it seems that similarities are more significant than the differences. Those found:

(1) Educational aspirations beyond high school is a desire of a high majority (approximately 85 percent) of all youth regardless of place of residence or sex. High level educational goals is the rule rather than the exceptions.

(2) Only about one fifth of nonmetropolitan and less than one out of the metropolitan Chicanos were judged to have low level aspirations.

(3) The educational aspirations of male youth showed very little differenees ces for low to high.

(4) As has been the case with many of the Texas studies, more of both populations expected low levels of educational attainment in relation to their aspirations.

Anticipatory Goal Deflection (Table 3)

The EP-73 and ST-73 respondents differed very little, regardless of sex, in reference to the discrepancies of what they desired and actually expected. Approximately two thirds of each sex grouping from the two Chicano populations demonstrated no anticipatory deflection from educational aspirations at all. The one difference that might be noted is the negative goal deflection difference in the Chicano groups of the two populations (Table 3).

Intensity of Aspirations (Table 4)

The two populations, a majority of boys and girls in both samples indicated strong desire for their educational goals and very few expressed weak attachment to their goals in education. There were some differences in the male respondents where nonmetropolitan respondents more frequently maintained a strong desire for their educational aspirations than the metropolitan respondents.

Certainty of Expectation (Table 5)

The metropolitan and nonmetropolitan youth did not differ substantially in regard to how certain they felt about attaining the education they really expected. . . they were split about in a 60 to 40 ratio between feeling some degree of certainty or some degree of uncertainty. The biggest difference noted was among the female sample which indicated ST-73 as being more certain about their expectations.

Occupational Status Projections

Aspirations and Expectations (Tables 6 and 7)

The EP-73 and ST-73 youth were very similar in the broad status levels of occupation they aspired to. An examination of the respondents' replies for qualitatively differentiated categories of jobs reveals that the majority of Chicanos in the metropolitan and nonmetropolitan populations indicated a desire for the high categories of occupation (1, 2, 3). Approximately 55 percent of all respondents selected the top three categories which indicate high occupational aspirations. At the lower end of the scale, there

were similarities between the two population groups, as only about 5 percent of each group regardless of sex had desires for categories 7, 8, 9. A difference that is noted is between males of the population sample especially in the "high" category where there is a difference of 13 percentage points in the two groups. In the two groups there still seems to be a reluctance to aspiring to the "high" professional fields. El Paso males show the highest percentage (19) in the high professional category but the other groups as separated by sex and residence fall between 5 and 11. It is interesting to note that the "traditional" housewife role was not selected once by anyone.

The occupations that both populations expected to attain were not as concentrated as were the occupational aspirations, as the Table 7 indicates, Chicano youths expectations ranged more evenly over the entire scale. The percentage of respondents in the high categories (high professional, low professional, glamour) drops from 55 to approximately 38. The low categories (operatives, unskilled worker, housewife) about doubled from the occupational aspirations figures given above. Expectation, while generally lower than aspirations, remained high for the most part.

Anticipatory Goal Deflection (Table 8)

There are slight differences observed between the SF-73 and EP-73 studies in reference to anticipatory goal deflection from occupational goals. Generally about half the youth do not experience anticipatory goal deflection. Whenever deflection occurred, differences between aspirations and expectations, it tended to be negative with

about 30 percent showing a negative deflection. Negative deflections were higher in reference to occupation than education.

Intensity of Aspriation (Table 9)

The intensity measurement for occupational desires was comparable to the findings for education goals. In the two areas, education and occupation, approximately 7 out of 10 respondents indicated a strong desire to achieve these goals.

Certainty of Expectations (Table 10)

The two populations are generally less certain (about 50 percent compared to 68 percent) about accomplishing their job expectations than they are in their intensity for satisfying their occupational aspirations. El Paso youth more often indicated a strong degree of certainty. South Texas girls were the least certain of their occupational expectations.

Speaking Patterns

Almost all the EP-73 (metropolitan) and ST-73 (nonmetropolitan) boys and girls indicated that they could speak Spanish (Table 1). Being able to speak Spanish does not mean that this language is used predominantly nor, does it mean that it is used with the same frequency in all circumstances. Let's briefly examine the patterns of language usage by the contexts of use described above.

With Parents (Table 11)

Approximately half or more of both boys and girls used mostley Spanish in speaking with parents in both studies. Most of the remainder used Spanish and English about equally, and small proportions--ranging from 6% to 16% of the four categories of res-

pondents used only English.

The El Paso boys and girls differed very little in these patterns; however, the nonmetropolitan boys indicated a much higher Spanish dominance in this context than nonmetropolitan girls, and, for that matter, than the El Paso youth. Clearly, the nonmetropolitan boys stand out as very different from the other three "residence-sex" categories due to the fact that over two-thirds of them claimed to use mostly Spanish.

Metropolitan boys used Spanish less and English more with parents than their nonmetropolitan counterparts. It is interesting to note, however, that between 80%-90% of both, spoke some Spanish with their parents--almost half of them did so as compared with only a third of the metropolitan girls.

Friends-Neighbors (Table 12)

Except for the nonmetropolitan boys, the groupings demonstrated surprisingly similar patterns of Spanish-English usage with "close friends" in the neighborhood. Quite clearly a strong bilingual tendency was the predominant pattern--about half of both metropolitan groupings and nonmetropolitan girls indicated this pattern. And, for these three groupings the other half was about equally split between dominance of English and dominance of English and dominance of Spanish. Again, the nonmetropolitan boys were very different--most used Spanish predominantly.

Friends In School

The observations of language patterns in this interaction context are very similar to those just described for talking with friends

in the neighborhood, except that predominance of English is a slightly more frequent pattern. Again, the nonmetropolitan boys stand out dramatically in Spanish dominance as compared with the other three groupings.

Use of Mass Media

Radio (Table 14)

Statistically significant but rather slight differences exist by place of residence for both sexes in this regard--more nonmetropolitan youth were likely to predominantly use Spanish programs. More important is the fact that a majority of all four groups listen to "some" Spanish language programs and sizeable proportions (ranging from 21% to 35%) do not listen at all to Spanish programs. Sex differences in both place of residence types were inconsequential.

Newspapers and Magazines (Table 14)

Place of residence differences were not statistically significant for either boys or girls in use of Spanish language mass literature--use of English was very dominant in all cases. For both studies girls indicated a greater frequency of use of Spanish to some extent and predominance of Spanish in such reading as compared with their male counterparts.

Summary of Findings, Conclusions & Discussion

The question whether metropolitan Chicanos differ from nonmetropolitan Chicanos in their status projections for concern of this research. Valid statistical differences were found; however many similarties are indicated in the data. Summarizing the differences

and similarities we can come to some conclusions regarding Chicano youth in metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas.

The basic differences that our two populations show in their status projections are:

(1) Metropolitan Chicano youth had slightly higher educational and occupational aspirations. Nonmetropolitan youth were more likely to expect to terminate their education upon completion of high school.

(2) On intensity of desired measurement for educational aspirations, the nonmetropolitan population rated higher; this was especially true with regard to the male nonmetropolitan respondents who more frequently maintained a strong desire for their educational aspirations.

(3) The basic difference that was found between the two groups in occupational aspirations and expectations was not in th subcategories of high level status: metropolitan youth more frequently desired and expected the "high and low professional categories".

The two populations were very similar in many ways. Chicanos whether in rural or metropolitan areas, exemplify a desire for upward mobility. The following metropolitan and nonmetropolitan Chicano youth:

(1) Regardless of sex or place of residence, most Chicano youth have high aspiration levels for educational and occupational attainment and have a strong intensity of desire for these goals. High aspiration level· is expecially, true for education where approximately 85 percent aspire to continue their education beyond high school.

(2) A small proportion of about 5 percent of the Chicanos in the study population have low level aspirations in occupational attainment.

(3) The difference between what Chicano youth aspire and expect in both groups is about the same--aspiration levels fall about 15 percent. Educational expectations are usually higher than occupational expectations.

(4) Regardless of place of residence or sex, about 60 percent of the Chicano youth expected to attain the status levels they aspired to--there was not goal deflection for this group.

One can observe quite clearly from the summary data on predominance of use of either Spanish or English in speaking over the three contexts studied that most of the marked variability observed by metropolitan-nonmetropolitan place of residence is attributable to the nonmetropolitan boys from South Texas relative to their heavy Spanish language dominace (Table 6). This pattern also is related to another general metropolitan-nonmetropolitan variation observed--the rather substantial sex differences for South Texas youth and the remarkable lack of these for the El Paso respondents. In conclusion, most of the variability by both metropolitan-nonmetropolitan residence and sex appears to be due to the heavy reliance on Spanish by the nonmetropolitan, South Texas boys, particularly in reference to interaction with friends in social contacts outside the home.

Significant place of residnece differences in use of Spanish language mass media occurs only in reference to listening to radio and this difference is not very substantial--South Texas youth slightly more often relied on Spanish. About one-fourth of the South Texas youth listened to more Spanish language than English programs as compared with less than one out of 10 El Paso youth.

Differences by sex status were inconsequential in use of Spanish in radio listening. However, girls tended to indicate use of Spanish much more frequently than boys, in reading Spansih language newspapers and magazines in both El Paso and nonmetropolitan South Texas. In general, the metropolitan and nonmetropolitan youth studied differed little in their language patters relative to use of Spanish vs. English language mass media.

A very consistent pattern of variation by social context was observed regardless of sex and place of residence. The dominance of Spanish in speaking decreased and conversely that of English use increased as the social context moved progressively away from the home, to the neighborhood, and finally to the school. In all cases, the most dramatic shift takes place between talking with parents in the home and speaking with friends in the neighborhood. It can be concluded that this situational variation is not influenced much by place of residence, except that nonmetropolitan boys did not indicate the magnitude of variation by social context indicated by the three other groupings. The fact that the nonmetropolitan boys tended to retain predominant use of Spanish outside of interaction with parents, while others did not, is one of the most intriguing findings to come to light from this research. We know that Mexican American youth from the South Texas study area--particularly boys--have indicated more use of Spanish in 1973 as compared with 1967 (Patella and Kuvlesky, 1975). Does this mean that the rural boys are feeling the pressure to demonstrate "ethnic identity" to increasingly greater extent than others? Only futture research can answer that question.

In general the studies here presented provide valuable and needed information in the whole area of status projections. Basic is the differences in past research, whether Chicano youth have high aspirations in education and occupations. Merton's theory of social structure and anomie inclucation of high success goals of various kinds (education, occupational) constitutes a patterned

characteristic that cuts across "subcultural" differntiation in our society. Merton maintained that having high aspirations is not unique to one group in our society. Of course, there have been many writers (Heller, Madsen & others) who have promoted the cultural deterministic model---that is, that because of certain cultural values Chicanos tend to have lower aspirations. The Texas border studies indicate strongly that Chicano youth regardless of sex or place of residence have high educational and occupational aspirations.

The difference between aspirational levels in education and occupation presents some interesting questions. First, do all youth show the same kind of difference regardless of sex or ethnicity? Second, and the one we will deal with here is, why the difference between educational and occupational aspirations? Accessibility seems to provide part of the answer, although much closer research would have to be done in the area of status projection to measure accessibility in education and employment. Schools and education in general, have become more "open", more accessible than job markets. The federal government, partly as a result of the civil rights movement, has declared "equal educational opportunities for all citizens a top priority. Ther Serna vs Portales and the Lau vs Nichols cases are examples in which the courts have mandated "equal educational opportunities." In the occupations, the same has not happended; there are still unions, certain trades and profession that are almost exclusively white. It has been much more difficult in the private sector to provide accessibility for minorities in this

country. Affirmative action in hiring has been a slow process and is almost always tied to those jobs that are government-related. How can one aspire to something that does not even seem possible? A few will try--most see futility.

Have aspirations "gone up" for Chicanos? Do Chicanos have high aspirations in education but "low" aspirations in job attainment? We think not. A crucial factor that has not been considered are the obstacles. Obstacles placed on Chicanos have been the problem, not cultural factors that "lower" aspirations. A careful analysis of the occupational opportunites and accessibility to jobs in the next 10 to 15 years will give an indication of occupational aspirations. Who says that Chicanos do not want to become corporation lawyers, doctors and oil tycoons...if they could!

Another finding that deserves some discussion is the levels of aspirations of metropolitan and nonmetropolitan youth. Findings of past research which indicate some differences between the two groups are supported with the Chicano populations of the Texas border area. We found that there were some statistically significant differences between two groups. Again it is important to consider the education and job opportunities that are available to the two regions. There is no question that rural youth has less of an opportunity to attend some educational institution beyond high school than his metropolitan counterpart. The "high professional" category jobs are usually non-existent in rural towns. The question could be posed, "do rural youth have lower educational and occupational aspirations or are there less opportunities?"

With these kind of data what can we say; what can we recommend to policymakers especially in education? It is time to realize that the era of the culturally disadvantaged is long gone; it never was; it was a myth created by the majority culture and its social scientists to explain the problems of our society.

One can trace historically the interpretations of Chicanos in this country. Up to the point of colonization of the Southwest by Anglo-America we can see the "God is White" model-philosophy. Perhaps this model might be more appropriately designated "Gos is Anglo". The 1830's and 1940's saw the manifest destiney diplomacy come to a point of success through the presidency of James K. Polk. It was the "destiny" of the United States through the will of God to take over the Southwest.

With the completion of the Mexican War in 1848 the mission of manifest destiny was accomplished as far as the Southwest and Mexico was concerned. The "colonized inferior" model followed with the appropriate behavior being exemplified in our actions. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the land grant questions are perfect examples. In education and politics, state constitutions which provided for bilingualism were totally disregarded as was the case in New Mexico. In employment, the colonized inferiors served as a source fro cheap labor especially on the farms of the Southwest. Whenever there was a need for a larger labor force braceros were legally imported to satisfy our demand.

To explain the lower status position of Chicanos, social scientists have appropriately used the bioligical deterministic model.

According to this model-theory, a person is born with deficiencies in intelligence. If Chicanos are not born with native intelligence necessary to survive in this society they will have probelsm. With the biological dterminortic theory there are few problems explaining high drop-out rates and low acheivement scores of Chicano children in our schools.

Finally the cultural-deterministic model has been utilized to explain the many failures that Chicano youth have experienced in our society. The basic difference between the biological and cultural model is that now the individual born with noraml intelligence but his culture prevents him/her from learning and succeeding. Social scientists have made extensive use of the cultural deterministic thinking in the last 30 to 40 years. The theory has been used to explain everything from income levels, to high crime rates to low aspirations!

There is a need to realize that Chicanos do have high aspirations and do look froward to competing in this society for the "rewards" it has to offer. Chicanos want a part of the success story without having to give up their cultural identity. Assimilation in the past was a pre-requisite from "making it" in this system and it should never be if we profess to believe in a democracy. While economic assimilation may be a desire form many Chicano youth, cultural assimilation is not. Wanting the good job and a good education is not synonymous with a desire to assimilate into maninstream American middle class society as some migh believe.

In education, as well as in society, the cultural pluralistic model should be implemented. Cultural pluralism takes into account the diversity of our society and its many people. Ethnic groups may be culturally and linguistically different but they certainly are not culturally disadvantaged or deficient.

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Table 1. Comparison of Educational Aspiration (type and level) among two Samples of Mexican-American Youth, by Sex.

Educational Aspiration Level		Females		Males	
		EP-73 %	ST-73 %	EP-73 %	ST-73 %
Low	1. Quit High School	4	2	2	0
	2. High School Grad	9 (13)	19 (21)	7 (9)	16 (16)
Intermediate	3. High School plus Tech. Training	41	14	34	12
	4. Junior College	4 (45)	13 (27)	3 (37)	20 (32)
High	5. College Grad	27	28	26	27
	6. College Grad plus	15 (42)	24 (52)	28 (54)	25 (52)
	Total	100	100	100	100
		$X^2 = 39.37$ D.F. = 5 P = <.001		$X^2 = 46.69$ D.F. = 5 P = <.001	

Table 2. Comparisons of Educational Expectation (type and level) among two Samples of Mexican-American Youth, by Sex.

Educational Expectations Level		Females		Males	
		EP-73 %	ST-73 %	EP-73 %	ST-73 %
Low	1. Quit High School	3	2	3	0
		(13)	(23)	(13)	(27)
	2. High School Grad	10	21	10	27
Intermediate	3. High School plus Tech. Training	51	15	36	14
		(56)	(29)	(39)	(30)
	4. Junior College	5	14	3	16
High	5. College Grad	21	32	32	29
	6. College Grad plus	10 (31)	16 (48)	16 (48)	14 (43)
	Total	100	100	100	100
		$X^2 = 52.06$ D.F. = 5 P = <.001		$X^2 = 49.25$ D.F. = 5 P = <.001	

Table 3. Comparison of Anticipatory Deflection of Education Aspiration among two Samples of Mexican-American Youth, by Sex.

Nature of Deflection	Females		Males	
	EP-73 %	ST-73 %	EP-73 %	ST-73 %
None	63	72	62	60
+	7	11	8	12
-	30	17	30	28
Total	100	100	100	100
	$X^2 = 7.67$ D.F. = 2 P = >.01, <.05		$X^2 = 1.33$ D.F. = 2 P = >.5, <.6	

Table 4. Comparison of Intensity of Educational Aspiration among two Samples of Mexican-American Youth, by Sex.

Level of Intensity	Females		Males	
	EP-73 %	ST-73 %	EP-73 %	ST-73 %
Strong	67	59	63	89
Interm.	20	29	23	9
Weak	13	12	14	2
Total	100	100	100	100
	$X^2 = 3.24$ D.F. = 2 P = >.1, <.2		$X^2 = 32.54$ D.F. = 2 P = <.001	

Table 5. Comparison of Certainty of Educational Expectation among two Samples of Mexican-American Youth, by Sex.

Certainty	Females		Males	
	EP-73 %	ST-73 %	EP-73 %	ST-73 %
Very Certain or Certain	55	72	58	60
Not very Certain	40	22	34	34
Uncertain or Very Uncertain	5	6	8	6
Total	100	100	100	100
	$X^2 = 13.1$ D.F. = 2 P = >.001, <.01		$X^2 = 0.43$ D.F. = 2 P = >.8, <.9	

Table 6. Comparison of two Samples of Mexican-American Youth on Occupational Aspirations, by Sex.

Level of Aspirations	Type of Occupational Aspirations	Female EP-73 (N=157)	Female ST-73 (N=201)	Male EP-73 (N=143)	Male ST-73 (N=178)
		-%-		-%-	
High	1. High Professional	11	5	19	8
	2. Low Professional	28 (58)	51 (64)	23 (57)	25 (42)
	3. Glamour	19	8	15	9
Intermediate	4. Management	3	1	10	15
	5. Clerical and Sales	25 (31)	20 (27)	1 (35)	1 (38)
	6. Skilled Worker	3	6	24	22
Low	7. Operatives	3	2	4	2
	8. Unskilled Worker	1 (4)	2 (4)	1 (5)	3 (5)
	9. Housewife	0	0	0	0
	No Info.	7	5	3	15
	Total	100	100	100	100
		$X^2 = 30.69$ D.F. = 9 P = <.001		$X^2 = 23.85$ D.F. = 9 P = >.001, <.01	

Table 7. Comparison of Two Samples of Mexican-American Youth on Occupational Expectations, by sex.

Level of Aspiration	Type of Expectation	Male EP-1973 (N=143)	Male St-1973 (N=178)	Females EP-1973 (N=157)	Females St-1973 (N=201)
		%		%	
High	1. High Professional	10	6	4	2
	2. Low Professional	21 (38)	21 (33)	26 (38)	35 (42)
	3. Glamour	7	6	8	5
Intermediate	4. Management	10	13	2	1
	5. Clerical and Sales	3 (44)	1 (33)	39 (45)	22 (27)
	6. Skilled Worker	31	19	4	4
Low	7. Operatives	4	2	2	1
	8. Unskilled Worker	10 (14)	4 (6)	1 (9)	4 (18)
	9. Housewife	0	0	6	13
	No Info.	4	28	8	13
	Total	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 41.5$
D.f. = 9
P = <.001

$X^2 = 27.13$
D.F. = 9
P = >.001, <.01

Table 8 Comparison of Anticipilory Occupational Goal Deflection for two Samples of Mexican-American youth

Goal Deflection	Males		Females	
	EP-1973 (N=143)	ST-1973 (N=178)	EP-1973 (N=157)	ST-1973 (N = 201)
	%		%	
None	52	47	47	52
+	8	9	10	7
-	28	14	30	26
No info.	12	30	13	15
Total	100	100		100

$X^2 = 18.06$
D.F. = 3
P = <.001

$X^2 = 2.44$
D.F. = 3
P. = 7.5.<6

Table 9 Comparison of two Populations of Mexican-American youth on Intensity of occupational Aspirations by sex.

Intensity Level	Male		Female	
	EP-1973 (N = 153)	ST-1973 (N=178)	EP-1973 (N=157)	ST-1973 (N=201)
	%		%	
Strong (1, 2)	66	59	68	74
Intermediate (3,4,5)	22	37	20	20
Weak (6,7)	4	3	9	3
No info.	8	1	3	3
Total	100	100	100	100
	X^2 = 15.75		X^2 = 6.06	
	D.F. = 3		D.F. = 3	
	P. = >.001, <.01		P. = >.1, <.2	

Table 10 Comparison of Two Populations of Mexican-American youth on Certainty of occupational Expectations, by sex.

Degree of Certainty	Male		Females	
	EP-1973 (N=146)	ST-1973 (N=178)	EP-1973 (N=157)	ST-1973 (N=201)
	%		%	
Very Certain or Certain	49	45	46	37
not very certain	38	32	42	45
uncertain or very uncertain	8	14	8	13
No info.	5	9	4	5
Total	100	100	100	100
	X^2 = 5.64		X^2 = 4.81	
	D.F.= 3		D.F. = 3	
	P. = >.1, <.2		P. = >.1, <.2	

Table 10. Ability to Speak Spanish by Sex Among Two Samples of Mexican American Youth.

Sample	Do Speak Spanish		
	Male	Female	Total
	%		
El Paso-73 (M)	95	96	95
South Texas-73 (NM)	98	99	99

Table 11. A Comparison of Language Used in Speaking With Parents For Two Samples of Mexican American Youth By Sex.

Language Pattern	Male		Female		Total	
	EP	ST	EP	ST	EP	ST
	%					
Mostly English	16	10	13	6	14	8
Both	33	22	35	49	34	36
Mostly Spanish	51	68	52	45	52	56
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 9.73$ D.F. = 2 P = >.001, <.01

$X^2 = 8.06$ D.F. = 2 P = >.01, .02

Table 12. A Comparison of Language Used In Speaking With Neighborhood Friends For Two Samples of Mexican American Youth By Sex.

Language Pattern	Male		Female		Total	
	EP	ST	EP	ST	EP	ST
	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - % - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -					
Mostly English	28	13	27	26	27	20
Both	46	28	47	53	47	41
Mostly Spanish	26	59	26	21	26	39
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 34.77$
D.F. = 2
P = <.001

$X^2 = 1.52$
D.F. = 2
P = >.5, .6

Table 13. A Comparison of Language Used In Speaking With Friends In School (Out of Class) For Two Samples of Mexican American Youth By Sex.

Language Pattern	Male		Female		Total	
	EP	ST	EP	ST	EP	ST
	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - % - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -					
Mostly English	31	19	29	29	31	24
Both	50	26	52	53	51	41
Mostly Spanish	19	55	19	18	18	35
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 44.17$
D.F. = 2
P = <.001

$X^2 = .05$
D.F. = 2
P = >.9

Table 14. A Comparison of Amount of Use of Spanish With Types of Mass Media For Two Samples of Mexican American Youth By Sex.

A. Radio Amount of Spanish	Male[1] EP	Male[1] ST	Female[2] EP	Female[2] ST	Total EP	Total ST
			%			
None	35	21	23	24	29	23
Some	56	53	67	51	62	52
More ½	8	18	7	18	7	18
All	1	8	3	7	2	7
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100

B. Newspapers & Magazines	Male EP	Male ST	Female EP	Female ST	Total EP	Total ST
			%			
None	56	67	38	45	47	55
Some	43	30	49	44	45	38
More ½	1	2	12	8	7	5
All	0	1	1	3	1	2
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100

1 $x^2 = 20.93$ D.F. = 3 P = <.001
2 $x^2 = 13.16$ D.F. = 3 P = >.001, .01
3 $x^2 = 6.57$ D.F. = 3 P = >.08, <.09
4 $x^2 = 4.14$ D.F. = 3 P = >.2, <.3

Table 15. A Comparison of Percentages of Boys and Girls From Each Sample Using Spanish or English Predominantly in Each Social Context.

Social Context	% Speaking Mostly Spanish				% Speaking Mostly English			
	Males		Females		Males		Females	
	EP	ST	EP	ST	EP	ST	EP	ST
	- - - - - - % - - - - - -				- - - - - - % - - - - - -			
Parents	51	68	52	45	16	10	13	6
Friends-Neighbors	26	59	26	21	28	13	27	26
Friends-School	19	55	19	18	31	19	29	29

Study comparisons (EP-ST) underlined were observed to be statistically significant at the .05 level of P, according to results of x^2 tests reported earlier.